PREFACE

Research for this study was first begun because of a general interest in the history and culture of the Chumash people. But the general interest soon broadened into a wish to formulate a curriculum study for use in schools. The purpose for developing this curriculum has not included a desire to preach the use of certain ideas which will definitely improve the education process. Rather, the ideas and activities found in this study are only suggestions. Education thus far in the United States has frequently succeeded in coercing students to learn about subjects, but at the same time has often failed to inspire them to become involved with what they are learning and with the whole learning process itself. The human desires for creativity and expression, for communication and understanding, have been emphasized in this curriculum, hopefully in such a manner that one can recognize their importance and applicability in the education system. It is also hoped that the suggestions and ideas used in the study will be of some help in making the learning process relative and responsive to student and world concerns.

I have divided the history of the Chumash into four chronological periods: Spanish Exploration (1542-1783), Mission Period (1783-1833), Rancho and American Period (1833-present), and Contemporary Chumash. The third and fourth periods are now being researched and will be added to the study upon completion.

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SPANISH EXPLORATION
1542 - 1783

The time span of the Spanish Exploration Period is the largest of the four, but involves the least amount of contact between the Chumash and Europeans. A Spanish expedition led by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo in 1542-43 was the first to record information on the Chumash people. Cabrillo's visits to the Channel Islands and the mainland were quite numerous and of a very friendly nature, as indicated by this observation (Bolton, 1925, p. 26):

> On the following Saturday they continued on their course. . . anchoring in front of a magnificent valley densely populated, with level land, and many groves. Here came canoes with fish to barter; the Indians were very friendly. . . all the way there were many canoes, for the whole coast is very densely populated; and many Indians kept boarding the ships. They pointed out the pueblos [villages] and told us their names.

The main account of this expedition was written by the chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrel, rather than by the captain, because Cabrillo died on San Miguel Island during the winter of 1542 (Landberg, 1965, p. 11).

The next Spanish contacts probably occurred in 1587 and 1595. The first expedition was led by Pedro de Unamuno and the second by Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño. Both contacts were quite brief and neither of the two accounts of the expeditions contain extensive observations on Indian customs. (Ibid., p. 12).

Somewhat more informative is the journal of Father Ascensión from an expedition led by Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1602. Vizcaíno retraced the route of Cabrillo's 1542-43 voyage. In December of 1602, the explorer passed through the channel formed by the mainland and the offshore islands and named it the Santa Barbara Channel. The journal of this expedition notes the friendliness and generosity of the Chumash. (Grant, 1965, p. 9).

Nearly 200 years passed before the Chumash again had contact with the Spanish. In the late eighteenth century, the presence of the Russians and English on the northern borders of the North American Spanish Empire became a threat to Spanish claims on the California coastline. In order to combat this threat, the Spanish decided to establish a number of missions on the coast, each mission to be garrisoned by Spanish soldiers. Missionization began in 1769 when Gaspar de Portolá led an expedition in search of suitable mission sites. Portolá traveled north up the coast from San Diego to San Francisco Bay, visiting several Chumash villages along the way.

Information on the Portolá expedition is relatively abundant because of the number of diaries written during the voyage. The journals, including those by Portolá, the engineer Miguel Costansó, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and

Fr. Juan Crespí, contain many descriptions of Chumash ethnography and of their extremely friendly nature. The Spanish observers reported that the Indians often danced for them and gave them baskets, acorns, large amounts of fish, and seeds, sometimes in exchange for small trinkets but many times simply as gifts. Fr. Crespí wrote: ". . . they feasted and entertained us to the best of their ability" (See Lloyd, 1955, p. 38).

Additional knowledge on the natural state of the Chumash is provided by the reports of two expeditions led by Juan Bautista de Anza. One of the journals was recorded in 1775 by Pedro Fages, a lieutenant who was traveling with the first Anza expedition. The second diary was written during the following expedition, 1775-76, by Fr. Pedro Font and contains a fair amount of information on Chumash customs.

Descriptions of the native life of the Chumash are also found in the journal of José Longinos Martínez. Martínez traveled throughout California in 1792 with a group which was conducting a botanical survey of Spain's empire in America. The journal of this "natural scientist" provides us with observations on aboriginal-type settlements in the Chumash territory. The missionization of California was quite advanced by this time, but Martínez does not mention traits which might have resulted from mission life.

Chumash culture appears to have changed very little as a result of the Spanish contacts mentioned above. In contrast, the founding of the Spanish missions and the arrival of Spanish and American settlers radically altered Indian ways of living. For this reason, Chumash culture in its natural state as described by the accounts of the Spanish explorers will first be discussed. The results of missionization and the influx of settlers to California will then be related, providing a tragically different picture.

POPULATION

Most accounts seem to agree that the Chumash inhabited an area of about 6500 square miles in southern California. This territory is effectively described by A. L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California (1925, p. 550):

> The Chumash. . . held the three northern large islands of the Santa Barbara archipelago - Anacapa does not appear to have been inhabited permanently. They clustered thickly along the calm shore from Malibu Canyon westward to Point Concepcion, and from there extended northward along the more boisterous and chillier coast as far as Estero Bay. Inland, in general, they reached to the range that divides the direct ocean drainage from that of the great valley, except that in the west their frontier was the watershed between the Salinas and the Santa Maria and short coast streams; and in the east, some small fragments had spilled into part of the most southerly drainage of the San Joaquin-Kern system.

The inland populations of Chumash villages in this area of California are referred to in only a few historical accounts because the Spanish explorers did not travel very far inland. The journals from the Cabrillo and Vizcaíno expeditions contain the only reports of island population. Bartolomé Ferrel, Cabrillo's pilot, speaks of six populated villages on Santa Rosa Island ("Translation...", 1879, p. 307) and Fr. Ascensión describes the Channel Islands as "well settled" (Quarterly..., 1928, p. 352) in his diary.

References to the number of Chumash inhabiting the coastal areas are somewhat more numerous in the explorers' reports. The coast is described as "very populous" by Ferrel ("Translation...", 1879, p. 307) and Fr. Crespí wrote in 1769 that 10,000 people inhabited the region between Asumpta (Ventura) and Point Concepcion (See Lloyd, 1955, p. 5). Unfortunately, the estimates provided by the explorers for the population of the coast area and also for the island and inland regions vary widely. A more reliable estimate is that which is provided by Kroeber on the entire Chumash population. Kroeber (1925, p. 551) estimated that in 1770 8000 to 10,000 Indians lived in the coastal, island and inland villages of the Chumash territory. Kroeber's figure seems conservative when compared with some other accounts, yet it still appears to indicate that the Chumash nation was one of the three largest in California. The Wintun in northern California, the Yokuts in the San Joaquin Valley, and the Chumash were the three major Indian tribes in the state, according to Campbell Grant (Report on the First All-Chumash Conference, 1970, p. 3).

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Fr. Font described the Chumash as "well formed and of good body, although not very corpulent" (Bolton, 1930, p. 254). Some of the men and women pierced their nasal septums and ears in order to wear nose decorations and earrings. Both sexes adorned themselves with necklaces made of bone, shell, and various stones. The Indians also painted their bodies with red ochre and other colors, each rancheria apparently having a special pattern. (Priestley, 1937, p. 32; Simpson, 1938, p. 46).

The men usually went naked except for a string tied around the waist bearing a tool for making fire or a sweat stick. In cold weather, the men wore capes made of bird feathers, deer hide, or woven strips of sea otter, fox, or rabbit fur. Their hair is generally described as being long and tied at the back of the neck.

José Martínez's description of the women's appearance was quite enthusiastic (Simpson, 1938, p. 43):

> The dress and adornment of the women is graceful. From the waist down they customarily wear two very soft pieces of buckskin, the edges of which are cut into fringes and ornamented with strings of beads, "caracolitos," and other small shells of various colors, which give a very pretty effect.

> One of these skins they wear in front, the other behind. . . They dress their hair with great taste, with ornaments of "tangantillas". . . and earrings, as well as the hair itself which is put up in the following fashion: the bangs cut very short and smoothed forward,. . . which they trim daily by means of a piece of burning pine bark. . . The side locks hang down the sides, and the rest of the back hair is stretched upward, smooth and tight as possible. This dressing or coiffure makes the women graceful in their air, and neat, and not as horribly ugly as the rest of the gentiles, and gives them some attraction for the Spaniards.

VILLAGES

The Chumash island villages were usually near the few streams and springs and on the high bluffs overlooking the sea. Along the coast, the settlements were generally located on high ground close to a creek. The villages of the mainland interior were built on the grasslands in the mountains or on the benchland near streams. Evidence indicates that the major settlements were inhabited by the same Indians over a long period of time. But these occupations were probably not year round. The hunting and seed gathering activities of some of the villages must have caused a need for seasonal movements.

All of the explorers' accounts described the Chumash houses as large and well-made. Martínez (Ibid, p. 41) observed:

> These Indians live in society and have a fixed domicile. Their houses are arranged together, very well built, round like an oven; light enters through the center of the roof; they are spacious and fairly comfortable. Their beds are made on the floor ("en tapeste") with skins, and covers in which to wrap themselves, and with divisions, like the cabins of a ship. . . In the center of the room they make a fire for cooking seeds, fish, and other foods, for they eat everything cooked or roasted.

The houses varied in size, some of them large enough to accomodate several families. Their frame consisted of poles supported by four or five posts near the center into which walls of tule, fern, and grass were woven. The door was made with two whale ribs that formed an arch. (Grant, 1965, p. 34).

Each village contained one or more "temescals" (sweat houses) which were used by the Indians usually "twice a day," according to one observer (Simpson, 1938, p. 42). Father Font (Bolton, 1930, pp. 250) described a temescal:

> This is a hot, closed room for sweating, made somewhat subterranean and very firm with poles and earth, and having at the top, in the middle, an opening like a

> scuttle to afford air and to serve as a door, through which they go down inside by a ladder consisting of straight poles set in the ground and joined together, one being shorter than the other.

The Indians sat around a fire in the room until they began to perspire freely, whereupon they ran out and jumped into the ocean. The importance of the sweat house for the California Indians is revealed in Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California. Kroeber explains that these structures were used on a daily basis, not simply for occasional medicinal treatment. Their use as a means of purification suggests the idea of ceremony, but only indirectly. Instead, Kroeber felt that the temescal fulfilled "many of the functions of a club" since the men assembled there and often slept there. (Kroeber, 1925, p. 810).

SUBSISTENCE

According to Eugene Anderson, the "Chumash had developed a delicate balance with their environment." They learned to use a number of food sources for variety, yet they exhausted none of them because of their exceptional methods for utilizing the ecosystem. "Few if any nonagricultural peoples in the world maintained such dense populations or drew on so many major food sources." (Anderson, 1968, p. 4). The Chumash, like other Indian tribes, were part of a natural order where the people maintained a nearly perfect harmony with other animal and plant life.

Fishing activities provided a large amount of the food staples consumed by the Chumash, but their means of subsistence also included almost every source of plant or animal food found in the area. It is possible simply to list many of these staples, but one must remember that such foodstuffs varied in importance both seasonally and regionally. The plank canoe was the primary means of fishing employed by the coastal and island Chumash. During their fishing trips, the men would catch marine life such as the seal, sea lion, sea otter, and many kinds of fish: tuna, sardines, swordfish, barracuda, mackerel, halibut, perch, bass, rockfish, and salmon. The abundance of marine animals in the kelp beds off the Santa Barbara coast during this period effectively explain the large amount of fish in the Chumash diet.

Gathered plants constituted a second type of subsistence. The Chumash collected various kinds of seeds, acorns, nuts, roots, bulbs, fruits, and tubers. The most important kind of plant food was the acorn, a staple equally as important as fish for these people. The acorns were collected in the fall and stored for use during the year. This storage practice as well as the many ways of preparing the acorns enhanced their value. After being ground into meal with a mortar and pestle, the acorns could be formed into a hard cake, made into a thick soup, or eaten as bread. Another important plant was chia sage ("Salvia columbarie"), a plant with an oily seed that was made into flour. When water and sugar were added, this became a very nutritious food. One source of sugar for the Chumash was the sweet wax covering of the sugarbush ("Rhus ovata") and a second was honeydew, droplets

of such sucking insects as aphids or whiteflies. The Indians also used chia as a medicine. (Grant, 1965, p. 69).

The variety of animals hunted by the Chumash formed a third source of foodstuffs. The most important weapon used for hunting was, of course, the bow and arrow, but the men also used slings, springpole snares, curved throwing sticks, and various deadfalls. A list of land mammals captured with these devices would include: deer, elk, antelope, a type of wild pig, coyotes, and birds. They also hunted "ducks, geese, cranes, quail, hares, squirrels, rats, and other animals which [were] to be had in abundance" (Engelhardt, 1930, p. 37).

TECHNOLOGY

The superb craftsmanship displayed by the Chumash greatly impressed the Spanish explorers who considered their mechanical skills superior to those of neighboring tribes. One can understand the reason for this respect by reading the explorers' accounts or simply by viewing the excellent artifacts found in some museums today. Probably the finest objects made by the Chumash were those of stone, wood, bone, and shell, and also their baskets.

The composition of steatite enabled the Indians to use it quite extensively for various objects. Its heat resistance made it useful for arrow straighteners, smoking pipes, and for cooking instruments, since the Chumash knew very little of pottery. Because steatite is very soft and can easily be carved and drilled, the Indians formed it into effigies, beads, and other curious objects. (Grant, 1965, pp. 47-48). The steatite was gathered from quarries on Santa Catalina Island or was obtained in trade from the San Joaquin Valley tribes. Other rocks made into implements were: sandstone, granite, schist, flint, and chert. Mortars and pestles, used for the grinding of seeds, were made of sandstone, perhaps because it was available everywhere. Flint was made into fine projectile points and cutting tools such as drills, choppers, scrapers, knives, and burins.

The finest object of wood and one of the best technological achievements made by the Chumash was the "tomol" or plank canoe. The tomol was praised in most of the Spanish journals and was unique among the Indians in the New World. The canoes were made of several planks (pine, fir, redwood, or some other conifer) "lashed together and calked with the asphalt that [abounded] on the beach" (Kroeber, 1925, p. 558). They were less strong than a dugout form but also were swifter and remarkably light. The explorers described them as ranging in length from about twelve feet to over 24 feet, yet two men could carry an average-sized one. (Grant, 1965, p. 52). The Indians propelling these wooden crafts generally used double-bladed paddles.

Two of the most interesting wooden Chumash artifacts which have been preserved can be found in the British Museum. The first is a harpoon with a heavy red painted shaft, a slender foreshaft, a bone barb, and a chert point. The second object is a short spear thrower or "atlatl". (Kroeber, 1925,

pp. 559-60).

The paucity of existing wooden Chumash artifacts makes it necessary to refer to the explorers' accounts for a description of other wooden articles. In 1769 Miguel Costansó spoke of "wooden plates and bowls of different forms and sizes made from one piece, so (skillfully) that not even those turned out on a lathe could be more successful" (Grant, 1965, p. 54). Two carved oak bowls, examples of this excellent skill with wood, are a part of the Cessac collection in the Paris Musée de l'Homme. The bowls, as well as many other Chumash artifacts, were gathered in 1878 by the French archaeologist, Léon de Cessac. (Ibid.) Font described boxes and trays constructed with small planks sewn together. Plates made of alder and oak tree roots are mentioned by Portolá's lieutenant, Pedro Fages. (Ibid, p. 53).

A great many bone objects were made by the Chumash. They used bones of mammals such as seal, deer, and whale, and also bird bones. Barbed hooks, awls, sweat sticks (some with inlaid shell handles), whistles, and flutes were made of bone. Necklaces were also constructed quite often of bone.

Shells were used for a variety of articles, and the most useful shell was the abalone ("Haliotis"). Abalone was used mainly for decoration because of its beautiful iridescence, and was lavishly inlaid on wood, bone, and stone objects. Circular fishhooks and a great many ornaments were also made from it, and the shell was used whole as an eating dish. (Ibid., pp. 56-57). A second type of shell, the Pismo clam ("Tivela stultorum") was used for beads and money. The flat round clamshells were first attached to a certain length of string (this measure of string was called a "ponco") and then used for trade. The value of the ponco was determined by the color, quality, and rareness of the beads. (Simpson, 1938, p. 45). The Chumash supplied most of the clamshell money because their territory included the northern section of the Pismo clam range. This possession made them one of the wealthiest California tribes.

The basketry of the Chumash is perhaps their most outstanding technological achievement. The workmanship and design found in these baskets were highly praised by the Spaniards who sent many of them to relatives in Spain and Mexico. One of the best descriptions of the skill employed by the women in the construction of their baskets is found in Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California (p. 561): "The Chumash at all points show themselves finished and loving artisans of exceptional mechanical skill." The baskets, made with coiling and twining techniques, were used for a large variety of activities connected with the preparation of food. Seed beaters and gathering baskets were employed in collecting the many seeds utilized by the Chumash. After being gathered, the seeds were winnowed by shaking in a basket and then parched by tossing with hot pebbles in a shallow tray. Food staples were stored in large globular baskets, and water was kept in necked basketry bottles waterproofed with asphaltum on the inside. Some other woven implements were: trinket baskets, cradles, basketry caps, sewn or tule twined mats, and bait baskets.

LANGUAGE

Knowledge of the Chumash language is quite scarce because the Spanish explorers and the Franciscan fathers of the missions learned only enough to make basic communications. They wished instead to have the Indians adopt Spanish and discontinue use of their native language. Most of our knowledge was gathered from living Indians by men such as A. Gatschet, J. P. Harrington, H. Henshaw, A. L. Kroeber, O. Loew, A. Pinart, and L. Yates. In 1884 Henshaw gathered Chumash vocabulary from an educated halfbreed, Juan Pico, of the San Buenaventura area. The following is one of the sentences recorded by Henshaw (Grant, 1965, p. 59):

> "Washington ca canaay wot y jaaj si cal y nutiwatesh lo si ajutekuel ca si utiwate si ial ishmock sha aphaneshmu." Washington was the first President of the United States elected under the Constitution.

Kroeber defines Chumash as belonging to the Hokan linguistic native family, one of several native families in California. In southwestern California the Hokan-speaking people are the Chumash, Esselen, Salinan, and Yuman. The Hokan-speaking tribes of northern California include the Chimariko, Karok, Pomo, Shastan, Washo, and Yana. (1925, p. 886). According to Kroeber, many dialects were spoken in the Chumash territory: "There was a dialect for each mission; at least one other on the islands; another in the mountain region where the Tehachapis meet the coast ranges; and possibly others" (Ibid., p. 552).

The method used by the Chumash for counting was quite simple (Santa Barbara dialect; Kroeber, 1910, p. 267):

1. paka	6. yitickomo
2. ickomo	7. yitimasex
3. masex	8. malawa
4. ckumu	9. tspa
5. yitipaka	10. kelckomo, kecko

By adding "na" before the 1 to 9 numbers, 11 to 19 were formed. 20 is 2-10, icko mo-a-kel-co'mo; 30 is 3-10, mas-ex-a-kel-co'mo; and so forth. (Grant, 1965, p. 60).

Kroeber (1910, p. 270) also recorded the Lord's Prayer in the Santa Barbara dialect:

> Dios cascoco upalequen Alaipai quia-enicho opte: paquini juch quique etchuet upalag cataug itimi tiup caneche Alaipai. Ulamugo ila ulalisagua piquiyup queupe guinsncuaniyup uqui amsq canequi que quisagiu sucutanajun uti-agmyiup oyup quie uti leg uleyop stequiyup il auteyup. Amen.

These are some of the over 200 Chumash words gathered in the Santa Barbara area by Dr. Oscar Loew in the 1870's (Gatschet, 1879, p. 424):

rain	shtu'huigh	man	oho-ikh
water	o	woman	e'neke
sun	a'lish	house	a'p-h
mountain	mi-polomol	bear	khus
island	shna-khala'mo	mosquito	pu-u-u
grass	twu-eg'e	rattlesnake	khsab
pine	to-molgh	black	akhi'ma
bad	piukh-pan	red	ta-sen
good	me-psuma'vish	white	o-uokh

The Santa Barbara area still contains many place names in the Chumash language such as: Cachuma, Cuyama, Hueneme, Lompóc, Malibu, Mugú, Ojai, Piru, Sespe, and Sisquoc.

SOCIETY

Political Organization

Information on the political organization of the Chumash is often quite conflicting, but apparently each village (ranchería in Spanish accounts), or small group of villages, was fairly autonomous. A village was governed by a chief, "wot" or "wocha," who enjoyed a rather large degree of honor and influence, according to Kroeber (1925, p. 556). This position was hereditary and was generally occupied by a male; although women occasionally inherited leadership privileges (Harrington, 1942, p. 33). Tribute received by the chief from his people was in the form of shell money or food. The village leader alone could declare war and have two or three wives; he called his people and invited other villagers to ceremonies; and he entertained visitors. Only the chief could give other villagers permission to gather seeds and hunt on his territory, usually taking some of their catch as his fee.

Intervillage communication seems to have been limited to encounters for trading, occasional mixed marriages, or to instances of warfare. There is evidence of much intervillage fighting and, in fact, Fages (Priestley, 1937, p. 48) reported that the Chumash were "very warlike among themselves, living in almost incessant war, village against village." Each village jealously guarded its own hunting and collecting grounds against trespassers. Infringement of these rights was the most frequent cause of inter-ranchería war. Other reasons for conflict were: revenge for witchcraft, theft of food stores, and social insults to village leaders.

Some instances of war were simply surprise raids for revenge of one village against another, but others were more elaborate affairs. Campbell Grant (1965, p. 42) describes the procedure for declaring formal war: A messenger was sent by the aggrieved party to arrange a meeting at a certain location. The war parties met at this site, threw feathers in the air while yelling "ya ya ya ya" with increasing tempo, and ended the cry with a loud "Wu-Kap-pee!" An Indian from one party shot a number of arrows at the other side, which were dodged by the warriors. Then a warrior from the

opposite party fired some arrows.

Birth

The birth of a child does not appear to have involved any particular ceremony. Fages wrote that an Indian woman gave birth wherever she happened to be when labor began, even though it may have been "in the open field" (Priestley, 1937, p. 49). After the child was born, the mother flattened its nasal cartilage, then bathed herself in cold water. The baby was secured to a wooden cradleboard containing a lining of grass and fur until he learned to walk. Accounts again tend to disagree, but presumably the cradleboard was either strapped to the mother's back or dragged when she went out, and hung from the wall when the mother was in the house. One of the most disquieting of the Chumash taboos is related to the birth of a child. The Chumash believed that unless they had an abortion with the first pregnancy, or if the child did not die immediately, they would "never become pregnant again." Therefore pregnant women would beat themselves and take "barbarous medicines. . . in order to bring about an abortion," which often killed or seriously harmed the mother as well as the child. (Simpson, 1938, p.47).

Marriage

The Chumash men took only one wife, except for the village chief. A man purchased his bride from her parents with gifts such as animal skins or beads. The two were married simply by saying, "You love me and I love you." The marriage could be dissolved only on grounds of adultery and remarriage could take place only with a widow or widower. (Grant, 1965, p. 38).

Entertainment

The Chumash were very fond of dancing and music. They had no drums so the dancers were accompanied by musicians who played whistles of bone, plucked bows, rattles of seashells and split wood, and flutes of bone or wood. The journalists from the Portolá expedition noted the strong wish of these people to entertain and dance for them. Fr. Crespí (Bolton, 1927, p. 168) wrote:

> In the afternoon the chief men came from each town,. . . painted and loaded with plumage and some hollow reeds in their hands, to the movement and noise of which they kept time with their songs and the cadence of the dance, in such good time and in such unison that it produced real harmony. These dances lasted all the afternoon and it cost us much trouble to rid ourselves of the people.

Fages (Priestley, 1937, p. 36) described the costumes used in the dances: The women wore antelope hide skirts, were much painted, and carried bundles of feathers in both hands. The men were naked but were also well-painted.

According to two accounts (Fr. Crespí and Fr. Font), the Indians had a special area where they played games. The children played a game which

we know of as shinny. Alfred Robinson (1846, p. 94) watched a game of shinny being played in the mid 1840's at Santa Barbara: "They played... with a small ball of hard wood, which when hit, would bound with tremendous force without striking the ground for two or three hundred yards." The fondness of the Chumash for gambling was noted by several of the explorers. The women usually played a dice game using walnut shells or snails filled with asphaltum. Martínez speaks of a second gambling game where one person held two sticks behind his back and an opponent had to guess which hand held the sticks.

Religion

Very little information referring specifically to the Chumash religion is available to present-day man. The small amount of knowledge we do possess has been gathered from short accounts in the journals of the explorers and missionaries. As has been noted before, some of the accounts tend to disagree. At times, such contradictions seem to indicate that the Spanish were merely guessing, but perhaps they are only instances of different interpretation.

Speaking of the figure worshipped by the Chumash, Fages (Priestley, 1937, p. 48) reported: "The god whom they adore, and to whom they offer their seeds, fruits, and all that they possess, is the sun." In the 1880's Stephen Bowers (1897) talked with a surviving Chumash man who told him that they worshipped the sun, the raven, and the swordfish. Russel Ruiz, a Santa Barbara historian and Chumash expert also linked the sun indirectly to the worship beliefs of these people. Ruiz believes that the circle was a sacred symbol to them: their huts, bowls and baskets were hemispherical. So too were the sun and the moon round. (Report on the First All-Chumash Conference, 1970, p. 13). One can perhaps better understand the Indian worship of the sun by reading N. Scott Momaday's essay, "A Vision Beyond Time and Place" (Life, July 2, 1971, p. 67):

> Once in the first light, I stood where Cheney [old Kiowa Indian] has stood. . . and watched the sun come out of the black horizon of the world. It was an irresistible and awesome emergence, as waters gather to the flood, of weather and of light. . . The shadows on the rolling plains became large and luminous in a moment, impalpable, then faceted, dark and distinct again as they were run through with splinters of light. And the sun itself, when it appeared, was pale and immense, original in the deepest sense of the word. It is no wonder, I thought, that an old should pray to it.

Another deity worshipped by the Chumash is referred to in accounts as Sup, Achup, or Chupu. This god was honored by the Indians even after the missionaries had been trying to convert the Chumash for a number of years. In 1801, after a severe epidemic of pleurisy and pneumonia, the deity Chupu appeared in a female neophyte's vision. Chupu said that all who were baptized as Christians would die unless they were washed clean again and paid tribute to their old deity. All of the mission Indians quickly made

offerings to Chupu, as did the inhabitants of all the channel settlements. Anyone who spoke of the vision to the padres had been threatened with death by Chupu, but a neophyte soon told the fathers. (Grant, 1965, p. 62). The padres quickly regained control over the Indians; yet one can perceive the strong belief in Chupu, as well as the possible danger of this incident by the following observation (Heizer, 1941, p. 129) which is taken from a letter written by one of the missionaries:

> If the Indian woman had added, that in order to stop the epidemics, it was necessary to kill the missionaries and the soldiers of the guard. . . the natives would have believed it too, as they did the first part of the revelation. Who would have escaped and would have warned the Presidio though it is only half a league away?

Sup, or Chupu, was also mentioned by Fr. Olbés of the Santa Barbara Mission in his report of 1813 (Engelhardt, 1923, p. 96).

Fages noted in 1775 (Priestley, 1937, p. 32) that the Chumash worshipped idols. He wrote: "Their idols are placed near the village, with some here and there about the fields, to protect, they say, the seeds and crops. These idols are nothing but sticks, or stone figurines painted with colors and surmounted with plumage." The figurines were placed in an extremely clean place where the Indians would go to worship and offer them food. Fages made no comments as to whether or not the idols perhaps represented the sun, Chupu, or were instead representations of other gods.

The accounts written by the explorers often contain descriptions of a special enclosure found in each village and used for religious purposes. Within these sacred places, the Chumash offered various gifts (acorns, beads, seeds, fish, and deer) as supplication for good health, rain, an abundance of food, and other good things. After describing such an enclosure, Fr. Señan of San Buenaventura Mission wrote in 1815 (Engelhardt, 1930, p. 40):

> They imagine that after death, the souls are transferred to a place of delights where they are well received and where there will be an abundance of fish, and where they will have plenty to eat, and will pass their time in play, dances and amusements. Thoughts of Last Judgment, Purgatory, and Hell never entered their minds.

A different interpretation for the belief in life after death is given by Russel Ruiz. He feels that the moon was a symbol of life, because the Chumash believed in a form of reincarnation. They believed that when they died, they went back to their mother. For a short time they rested in the earth and then they returned again. When a meteor fell, this was the return of a spirit to the earth to be born again. (Report on the First All-Chumash Conference, 1970, p. 13).

Very few legends once related by the Chumash have been preserved. But

those we do possess seem to indicate a religious connection because native beliefs can often be found within the stories. This discovery of native ideas is perhaps merely a white man's interpretation, but the following observation by Fr. Señan in 1815 (Engelhardt, 1930, p. 35) tends to support the religious connection: "Some old men. . . tell a long series of. . . fables regarding the creation of the world and its government. The boys and young folk take great delight in them and will even pay an old fellow to get him to recite his stories."

The primary figure of California Indian religions was the shaman, or medicine man. The shamans claimed supernatural powers which they received from a guardian spirit during a vision or dream. They presided at puberty rites and various rituals such as mourning ceremonies, but their main function was the curing of disease. The procedure followed by a shaman for treatment of disease often included dancing, singing, and smoking tobacco. Using these and other steps, the shaman attempted to remove from the body a foreign object, believed to be the cause of disease.

One of the shaman's most important tools was the charmstone, a powerful sorcery implement. The charmstone was usually made of a close-grained dense rock with an average length of about six inches, though they sometimes varied in size. The stone was pointed on the ends in a cigar-shape and was carefully worked and polished. According to a Santa Barbara Chumash, the shaman placed twenty stones in a circle, thrust them together and then sprinkled water over them. The center of the circle contained a stone called "Tu-cait," and a mixture of red ochre, chia seeds, and down from a white goose was sprinkled over all. Many of these artifacts have been found in the Santa Barbara area, the San Joaquin Valley, northern Santa Clara County, Sonoma County, and in Butte, Napa, and Sacramento counties. Heizer and Olson (1930) believed that the number of charmstones found in early burials of these areas indicated a general usage. In contrast, the presence of fewer stones by the beginning of the historic period suggests that at this time they were used only by the shamans during ceremonies. (Grant, 1965, pp. 66-68).

The shamans of the Chumash villages are considered to be the creators of most of the rock paintings found in this region. The rock art appears to be connected with such ceremonies as puberty rites and mourning rituals. The figures depicted in these paintings were not merely senseless shapes, but instead possessed special meanings for their creators. We can never hope to interpret the drawings with certainty, because we think in different terms than the Indians. Yet it is possible to recognize the beauty and creativity of this art by viewing the few existing pictographs and by studying the information that has been gathered on the paintings.

The subjects discussed above are, for the most part, the physical aspects of one people's religion. But more significant are those aspects which cannot be perceived with our senses. Theodora Kroeber (1961, p. 23) wrote:

> The California Indian was. . . an introvert, reserved, contemplative, and philosophical. He lived at ease with the supernatural and the mystical which was pervasive in all aspects of life. He felt no need to differentiate mystical truth from directly evidential or "material" truth, or the supernatural from the natural; one was as manifest as the other within his system of values and perceptions and beliefs.

Death

The Chumash buried their dead in cemeteries located near the villages but set apart from the houses. The bodies found in some of the early period graves investigated by twentieth century archaeologists were roped in a flexed position (similar to the position in which we enter the world), face down and with the head toward the west. An excellent description of the burial ceremony was recorded by Lieutenant Fages (Priestley, 1937, pp. 33-34):

> When any Indian dies, they carry the body to the adoratory, or place near the village dedicated to their idols. There they celebrate the mortuary ceremony, and watch all the following night, some of them gathered about a huge fire until daybreak; then come all the rest (men and women) and four of them begin the ceremony in this wise. One Indian smoking tobacco in a large stone pipe, goes first; he is followed by the other three, all passing thrice around the body; but each time he passes the head, his companions lift the skin with which it is covered, that the priest may blow upon it three mouthfuls of smoke. On arriving at the feet, they all four together stop to sing I know not what manner of laudation. Then come the near and remote relatives of the deceased, each one giving the chief celebrant a string of beads, something over a span in length. Then immediately there is raised a sorrowful outcry and lamentation from all the mourners. . ., the four ministers take up the body, and all the Indians follow them singing to the cemetery which they have prepared for the purpose, where it is given sepulture; with the body are buried some little things made by the deceased person himself;. . .

The journalists from Portolá's expedition wrote that carved wooden boards describing with symbols the deceased person's achievements and high poles painted in black, red, and white were placed on the grave. A special pole, much longer than the others, was used to hang tools made or used by the individual during his life, as well as his personal belongings. Graves for women generally contained baskets and wooden bowls, and those for men had fishhooks, stone tools, or clothing. (Lloyd, 1955, p. 30). Certain infant graves containing small canoes of wood, stone, or bone have been uncovered by archaeologists. An old Chumash said the canoes were to carry the infant's soul "across the vast space that separates this life from the great beyond" (Grant, 1965, p. 45).

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The Chumash were not inclined to warfare with other Indian tribes and, in fact, came into contact with other nations mainly for peaceful trading purposes. Their immediate neighbors were: the Salinans in the north, the Yokuts in the northeast, the Allikliks in the east, and the Fernandeño and Gabrieliño in the southeast. They traded beads, steatite, and wooden vessels to the Salinans. They supplied the Yokuts with shell beads, abalone, Pismo clam and olivella shells, and white pigment in return for salt, obsidian, elk and antelope skins, vegetables, herbs, and black pigment. The Gabrieliño and the Yokuts supplied the Chumash with steatite. The Chumash also traded with the Kitanemuk of Tejón Canyon and the Tubatulabal of the Kern River, as well as the Mojaves of the Colorado River. (J. T. Davis, 1961).

SUMMARY

The initial period of contact between the Chumash and the Spanish explorers was one of enthusiastic friendliness on the part of the former people and high prestige for the latter group. There were few attempts by the explorers to effect drastic culture changes, although missionization was in the planning stage by the end of the period. During these two centuries of contact, the Spanish maintained a strong admiration for certain technological achievments and for the friendly nature of the Chumash. In contrast, by the mid eighteenth century the explorers had lost some of their prestige and were welcomed much less enthusiastically by the natives. Fr. Font attributed part of the change of attitude to the fact that Spanish soldiers had stolen and abused Indian women. There were probably other sources for the Indians' displeasure, and these soon caused the Chumash to become disillusioned with the Spanish.

ILLUSTRATIONS
(Grant, 1965)

FIGURE 22. Chumash house, based on accounts by the explorers (p. 35).

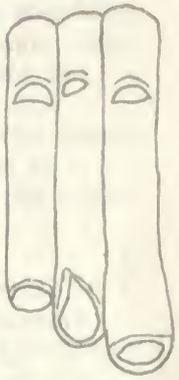

FIGURE 26. Bone whistles, originally joined like a Panpipe (p. 39).

FIGURE 54.

Abalone shell fishhook (p. 56).

FIGURE 55. Pismo clam shell money (p. 57).

FIGURE 64. Charmstone, Santa Barbara County (p. 67).

FIGURE 79. Sandstone paint mortar and pestle (p. 89).

MISSION PERIOD
1783 - 1833

The missionization of Alta California began with the Portolá expedition. In 1769, Portolá led a number of Spaniards in a search for suitable mission sites along the coast of California between San Diego and San Francisco Bay. As a result of this expedition, twenty one Franciscan missions were founded by the Spanish and the decimation of the California Indian was begun. Ironically, it was the Indians themselves who supplied the manual labor required for building the many mission structures: the chapels, the living quarters for the soldiers (the presidios), and the dormitories which were ultimately to become types of prisons for the Indians. (Much of the discussion in this section will refer to the twenty one missions in general, rather than specifically to the missions in Chumash territory. This generalization is necessary because of the lack of references to specific missions in many of the accounts.)

As originally planned by Don Felipé de Neve, political governor of California, the "natives were to be interfered with in their ranchería life and government as little as was possible. They were to be civilized by example and precept and thus gradually led to become vassals of the king, but they were not to be christianized by force. . . In a word they were to be treated as human beings having rights to be respected." (Bancroft, vol. II, p. 374). The natives were not to be removed from their villages "or required to live in mission communities, except a few at a time, who might be persuaded to live temporarily with the missionaries for instruction" (Ibid., p. 375). The Franciscan fathers did not immediately voice a strong vocal protest at this change in the methods of the old mission system. Instead, they gradually initiated the old mission ways once they were firmly established in California. As a result of this return to the original mission methods, the Indian converts were soon persuaded (voluntarily at first) to live in the mission buildings. The church's primary purpose for the missions was cultural change: The missionaries wished to eradicate native beliefs and traits and replace them with Spanish culture, especially in the realm of religion.

To accomplish such a culture change among the Chumash, five missions were established (refer to map on following page): San Luis Obispo in 1772, San Buenaventura in 1782, Santa Barbara in 1786, La Purísima Concepción in 1787, and Santa Inés in 1804. (Santa Inés is the form which was given to the Mission by the Franciscan fathers. The valley and village were both named for the Mission but are now written as Santa Ynez. The spelling of the church retains the original form.)

As mentioned previously, conversion and removal to the missions was at first a voluntary decision by the Indians. In fact, most of the Chumash, referred to as pagans or gentiles by the missionaries, chose to live outside the missions in relatively independent villages. The Indians who

FIGURE 13. The five missions established in the Chumash country by the Franciscans between 1772 and 1804. (Grant, 1965, p. 18).

decided instead to move into the mission settlements soon found their entire way of life changed. Where before their hours "were guided by the sun, and the months they reckoned by the moon," now they followed a set time schedule each day. As Christians they were "governed for labor, meals, and sleep by the sound of the bell." (Engelhardt, 1923, p. 94). The ringing of the Angelus summoned them at dawn to morning mass and prayers. After breakfast the children received catechism instructions from the padres, the women began their spinning and weaving tasks, and the men went to the workshops and fields. The noon meal was announced by the Angelus bell, after which the Indians were allowed a short rest. Work then resumed and continued until sundown. Games were played in the mission courtyard after dinner, and the bells rang again for final prayers just before bedtime. This was the general schedule for all days except Sunday in most of the mission settlements.

The Chumash were allowed to do some seasonal gathering and hunting, but farming and stock raising soon became the primary means of subsistence for the mission inhabitants. In addition to these skills, the men learned the techniques of blacksmithing, leather and iron working, tile and adobe making, stone masonry, and plastering. The women learned how to make soap and tallow for candles. They were also taught new methods of sewing and to spin and weave wool and cotton. It appears that the Chumash still living in native villages used their old techniques of shell, stone, bone, and wood work for a time. But apparently these skills were slowly abandoned by the mission Indians as they were forced, in a sense, to learn new techniques. (Lloyd, 1955, p. 61).

Instead of the round woven reed and grass huts of their native villages, the mission Indians (called neophytes) lived in single adobe rooms, placed in lines which formed streets. The walls were made of twelve inch thick

adobe, whitewashed inside and out, and the roof was covered with tiles. The bed was a wooden frame covered either with cowhide or planks. These single rooms were usually occupied by one couple and their children. But perhaps the most disturbing innovation was that of separate dormitories for single men and women, a strong contrast to the native houses which often held several families of both sexes. The women's dormitories contained young widows and marriageable girls over twelve years of age. The door was locked at night after the women had gone to bed, and then unlocked again in the morning, usually by the padre. This separation of young men and women from each other and from their families must have contributed strongly to a general loss of family solidarity among the Chumash. (Ibid., pp. 62, 71).

According to Fr. Olbés of Mission Santa Barbara (Engelhardt, 1923, p. 99), the neophytes were "dressed in a most decent, though humble, manner, the clothes being of a coarse woolen cloth or of sack-cloth." The women wore a woolen petticoat covered by a chemise and the men wore a breechcloth, over which they wore a long woolen shirt, called a "cotón." When the weather was cold, both men and women wore a blanket. They apparently were no longer allowed to wear the many pieces of jewelry or the face and body paint to which they were accustomed. The native costume was thus greatly altered for the mission Indians.

In the political domain, the practice of village autonomy was soon lost for the neophytes. The Chumash were ruled by a dual authority, the Spanish Empire and the Catholic Church, rather than by autonomous village chiefs. As the padres at Santa Inés stated, "They were subject in political and economic matters to the missionary Fathers, and in criminal to the government of the province" (See Lloyd, 1955, p. 64). Actual authority for the Indians was represented by the Franciscan fathers and the mission guard. The Spanish made somewhat of a token attempt to replace the village headman by an "alcalde." The alcalde was elected annually by the Indians and, according to Marie Walsh, his "duties were that of a mayor or justice of the peace. He dressed in Spanish dress and was exempt from corporal punishment." In addition, he witnessed the dispensation of the daily rations. A councilman, called a "regidor," was chosen in the same manner as the alcalde. As Nancy Lloyd says, "It would be interesting to know whether the associated meaning and function of the offices were taken as seriously as those of the village headman." (Ibid., p. 72).

The loss of personal freedom experienced by the mission Indians was quite extensive, but they were allowed periodic leaves of absence during the first years of missionization. The priests gave permission for outside excursions in order to decrease the occurrence of "fugitivism" and to reduce discontent with the mission system. The following observation on this custom by Fr. Lasuén (Engelhardt, 1923, pp. 79-80) is inadvertently somewhat of a judgment on the mission system:

> . . . by sharing in their former wild freedom, they retained liking for it and in a few weeks lost the instruction and the civilized habits which it had taken so long to acquire;

> but critics finally agreed with me that it was a necessary evil, and a lesser one than not to let them go; because being continually tempted by their pagan friends and relatives, they would leave without permission, as many of them do any way.

According to Bolton, the missionaries' "first duty was to teach the Gospel" (1920, p. 236). Yet it is in regard to religious changes that the fathers seem to have encountered the strongest native opposition. The padres made a great effort to eradicate all native religious beliefs and ceremonies and replace them with Catholic meanings and forms. They were not totally successful in the first part of the period, but the priests continued their pressure and soon achieved partial success in this culture change area. Children received catechism instructions from the fathers; the calendar was that of the Catholic Church; and every day began and ended with prayers.

The native lack of ceremony for marriage was replaced by the formalities of a Catholic wedding. Fr. Olbés of Mission Santa Barbara (Engelhardt, 1923, p. 94) described this ceremony: "The Indians here contract marriage according to the Rite of Mother Church. Hence, when a neophyte couple want to marry, they present themselves to the missionaries and express their wish, at the same time showing the consent of their parents. Then everything is observed that Mother Church prescribes for the marriage ceremony." Apparently the elaborate Chumash burial practices also were changed as well as being greatly reduced at many of the missions, since it was reported at Santa Inés in 1814 that ". . . at their burials they employ no other ceremony than that of the Church" (See Lloyd, 1955, p. 73).

Most of the Chumash religious ceremonies were gradually suppressed by the missionaries, but they seem to have survived longer than other cultural features. This persistence was perhaps due to the secrecy often employed by the Chumash. The following observation on the Santa Barbara Indians by Daniel Hill in the 1820's (Woodward, 1934, pp. 120-121) seems to support such a conclusion: "They often secretly build little temples of sticks and brush, on which they hang bits of rag,. . . depositing on the inside, tobacco and other articles used by them as presents for the unseen spirits. This was the occasion of great wrath to the padres who never failed to chastise the idolators when detected."

The existence of many restrictions and compulsions in the mission system resulted in frequent incidents of punishment. Reports on this aspect of the missions are quite conflicting in the extreme. Fr. Lasuén, president of the California Missions from 1785 to 1803, was at great pains to disprove all charges of cruelty. He reported: "The treatment generally accorded the Indians is very gentle" (Cook, 1940, vol. 21, p. 123). And the fathers of the missions asserted that "they stood 'in loco parentis' to the natives, must necessarily restrain them by punishments, and inflicted none but proper penalties, pardoning first offences, and always inclining to mercy and kindness" (Bancroft, vol. I, p. 593). In contrast, at least two provincial governors, Fages and Borica, and one missionary, Padre Concepción Horra, protested strongly against the severe punishment endured

by the neophytes. According to Padre Concepción, "The treatment shown to the Indians is the most cruel I have ever read in history" (Ibid.). Because of the controversy, it is somewhat difficult to decide how justified were some of the padres' disciplinary measure. But even with conflicting reports, one can recognize that the type of punishment employed was often offensive and degrading to the neophytes as well as unduly severe. Frs. Tapis and Cortes reported in 1800 that some of the disciplinary measures were: "fetters, lashes, shackles, and the stocks" (Cook, vol. 21, p. 126). Evidence is conflicting, but it appears that the number of lashes ranged from perhaps five for a minor crime to twenty five for a more serious offense. The number of lashes given for an offense differed somewhat at each mission but the above figures are useful for general consideration.

The lack of personal freedom tended to destroy the mission Indians' spirits, while the abundance of disease helped to destroy their physical well-being. The Spanish believed that they were bringing great benefits of civilization to the savages of California. But these "benefits" were accompanied by a devastating variety of diseases. The Chumash population was at a state of equilibrium when the Spanish began the exploration and missionization of California. But this generally equal birth and death rate was soon altered after the founding of the Missions. The California Mission records found in Cook (1940) report a total of 29,100 births and a tremendously disproportionate 62,600 deaths from 1779 to 1833. The difference of 33,500 deaths over births shows the extent of the Indian loss. Of the total of 62,600 deaths, Cook attributes 40,000 to the natural death rate and the remaining 22,600 deaths to the conditions found in the Spanish missions. Cook also seems to believe that about 15,250 of the Indian deaths can probably be attributed to diseases fostered by the Spanish. (Cook, vol. 21, p. 16).

The figures found in Bancroft's History of California are less specific as to the nature of death and are only approximate totals, but they also serve to illustrate the tragic decimation of the California Indian. Between 1783 and 1790 there were 6700 baptisms and 2800 deaths at the eleven established missions (vol. I, p. 387). In the years between 1791 and 1800 the priests baptized 12,300 natives and buried 8300 at eighteen missions (vol. I, p. 576). During the period of 1801 to 1810 there were 22,000 baptisms and 16,000 deaths at nineteen missions (vol. II, p. 160). From 1811 to 1820 the fathers baptized 18,000 and buried 15,500 (vol. II, p. 394).

One of the primary diseases which contributed to such tremendous death tolls was syphilis. It was a Chumash custom to give their women to visiting explorers as a sign of hospitality. But the soldiers soon began to wantonly take what the Indians had so trustingly and generously given. As more soldiers came to California and as the Indians were herded into the mission compounds the susceptibility and incidence of the disease were greatly increased. Because syphilis weakens the body's resistance to other diseases, the neophytes quickly became vulnerable to tuberculosis, bloody dysentery, and to the many epidemic diseases introduced by the Spanish. The Indians suffered and died from nearly every serious epidemic disease: measles, smallpox, cholera, scarlet fever, diptheria, pneumonia, and so forth.

Disease at the missions was aided by lack of medicine and by poor nutrition. According to Sherburne Cook (vol. 21, p. 37), the caloric need for the type of work done by the mission Indians was 2655 calories per day. Yet the average Indian probably received only about 2320 or less calories at the mission establishments. The Indians at Mission Santa Inés reportedly received only 1955 calories per day; the San Buenaventura neophytes received only 1840; those at San Luis Obispo 1405; the neophytes at La Purísima received 1290; and those at Santa Barbara only 1115 calories. The continual demand on the Chumash for work became even harder as their population dwindled. The Indians were forced to work extremely hard both in the mission compounds and also on the rancheros owned by civilians. Fr. Olbés (Engelhardt, 1923, p. 98) observed:

> The people in this province, known as the "gente de razon," (whites) are so lazy and indolent that they know nothing more than how to ride horseback. Labor of any kind they regard as dishonorable. They are of the opinion that only the Indians ought to work; wherefore they solicit the service of the Indians for even the most necessary things for their maintenance such as cooking, washing, doing garden work, taking care of the babies, etc. Generally the missionary Fathers let them have the Indians for work.

Information from various sources concerning the justice and morality of the mission system and Spanish colonization of California is often contradictory. But it seems apparent that mission life and Spanish contact in general produced an existence of fear, secrecy, and emotional and physical misery for the Indians. Three major types of reaction against such an existence occurred during this period: abortion, "fugitivism," and organized revolt.

It is difficult to determine the precise extent of abortion in the missions because there are no specific figures available. But apparently abortion was not an uncommon practice among the mission Indians. It was reported in 1809: "Among the women there are many abortions and miscarriages" (Cook, vol. 21, p. 110). And in 1811, the missionaries stated that "the dominant vice among the women is abortion" (Ibid, p. 111). Fr. Lasuén explained in 1795 (Ibid., p. 110) what he believed was the reason for the occurrence of abortions:

> The failure of the mission Indians to show a greater increase may be attributed to their great incontinence and the inhumanity of the mothers, who in order not to become old and unattractive to their husbands manage to abort or strangle their newly-born children.

It seems much more reasonable to believe instead that the phenomenon of abortion was a direct response to unfavorable environmental circumstances. Abortion was most likely a form of resistance against mission rules on the part of the mother, as well as a means of escape for her child.

The extent of "fugitivism" can be determined much more precisely than that of abortion because of the figures provided by Sherburne Cook. Cook says that 595 Indians were reported to have escaped from the Santa Barbara Mission between 1786 and 1817. This total represents 15% of all the baptisms performed during those years. He also lists 136 fugitives from San Luis Obispo (6.1% of cumulative baptisms), 52 from La Purísima (1.8%), and 27 from San Buenaventura (0.8%) for the same time period. After the revolt in 1824, 453 Santa Barbara Indians fled to the interior valley. This total represents 49.1% of the Mission population in 1824, reported as 923. 163 of this group reportedly were brought back, which means that 290 Indians apparently remained in the Tulare country. (Cook, vol. 21, pp. 60-61). Fugitivism can therefore be considered a major type of reaction and also a factor contributing to the decline in mission populations.

The third type of reaction, organized revolt, was manifested by the Chumash in two major uprisings. The first revolt, begun in 1801 as a response to an epidemic of pleurisy and pneumonia, was described previously (refer to Spanish Exploration Period). Apparently hostility towards the Spanish and general unhappiness with mission life continued to develop, because a second major uprising occurred in 1824. The trouble began on February 21 at Santa Inés when a Purísima neophyte was flogged by a soldier. That afternoon, the Indians attacked the soldiers, burned some of the Mission structures and then fled to Purísima. The neophytes at Purísima had revolted and taken possession of the Mission on the same afternoon. The soldiers retreated to Santa Inés but the minister of the Mission, Fr. Rodriguez, remained with his neophytes, who did not harm him. Four travelers on their way to Los Angeles and seven Indians were killed during the fight at Purísima. After the soldiers had fled, the Indians began to fortify the Mission with two old rusty cannon and other defense preparations. They were not attacked until almost a month later.

The news reached Santa Barbara on February 22, whereupon there ensued a fight of several hours between the soldiers and the Indians. After the soldiers retreated to the presidio, the Chumash took some of their clothing and other property and retired to the hills. The soldiers soon returned to the Mission and, despite the padre's protests, sacked the Indians' houses and killed anyone who had remained.

On March 16th, troops from Monterey arrived at Purísima and began firing at the Indians, now about 400 strong, who were barricaded in the Mission. After a period of fighting, the Indians attempted to escape but were stopped by the soldiers. At that point, Padre Rodriguez interceded for them and stopped the firing. During the battle, sixteen Indians and one Spaniard were killed. The Indians were all taken prisoner; seven were shot to death; four were sentenced to ten years of hard labor at the presidio and then perpetual exile from the province, and eight others to eight years of labor at a presidio in California.

In April, a military force attempted to bring back the fugitives of Santa Barbara who were by then in the region of the San Emigdio hills (in the San Joaquin Valley). They had two encounters with the Indians but

failed to bring them back. A second force accompanied by Fr. Ripoll, guardian of Mission Santa Barbara, was sent out in June. Many of the fugitives were persuaded to return at this time after they were assured a general pardon. The revolt of 1824 thus ended with the return of the Santa Barbara neophytes on June 21.

There is no record concerning the causes of the Chumash uprising at the three missions. But it appears quite evident that the Indians were revolting against the military authority rather than against the Franciscan fathers, since almost no hostility was shown toward the latter. Franciscan authorities in Mexico at that time believed that the real cause was the discontent of the Indians at having to support the soldiers by their hard labor without pay. Sherburne Cook seems to agree with the above explanation for he wrote: ". . . there is no doubt that the ultimate cause lay in years of dissatisfaction and discontent, which increased steadily and finally exploded in open warfare" (Cook, vol. 21, p. 67). It is quite evident in all of the reports on this revolt that the mission fathers were greatly upset about the cruel and bloody methods used by the military to end the affair. Mrs. Ord, daughter of Captain De La Guerra of Santa Barbara, says that "Padre Ripoll loved his neophytes as a devoted mother. His emotions [at the time of the battle at Mission Santa Barbara, February 22] were so great that he became ill, though not seriously so" (Ord, 1956, p. 9). But neither Fr. Ripoll nor any of the other missionaries made vigorous protests against the murders and robberies committed by the soldiers; nor did they insist that the troops be punished. They merely confined themselves to lamenting to one another because of their deference to the military and civil authorities. (Bancroft, vol. II, pp. 527-536; Berger, 1941, pp. 212, 226).

SUMMARY

When missionization first began, conversion of the "heathen" was to be accomplished only on a voluntary basis. Pressure was limited to legitimate spiritual and moral persuasion and economic or social inducements without the use of threats or physical compulsion. This method of friendly persuasion served to convert large numbers of Chumash during the first twenty years of the Mission Period. The fathers accomplished many of these conversions by stressing the externals of their religion, such as the music, the ceremony, and processions. They also offered inducements of food, shelter, and clothing in order to make mission life extremely attractive. These inducements were emphasized so that the Indians would voluntarily come to live with the fathers.

But it soon became necessary to broaden the field of conversion because the Chumash in villages adjacent to the mission buildings had been assimilated. Total voluntary conversion became inadequate and so the fathers began to go out on peaceful little trips to neighboring villages in order to gain converts. Neophytes were frequently sent out to proselyte their heathen relatives and soldiers were occasionally used for the same task.

But troubles soon began to arise because some gentiles were reluctant to convert; some were even hostile about it. This attitude of reluctance and hostility is not surprising or unwarranted, since many of the gentiles probably recognized by this time how their lifestyle would be changed by the missionaries. It is quite likely that the gentiles, as well as many neophytes, were averse to mission life mainly because of a love of liberty, a distaste for mission surroundings, a love for their native home, and a hatred against all forms of compulsion and restraint. The first reason for aversion, love of liberty, is perhaps the most understandable when one contrasts the freedom of the aboriginal lifestyle to mission life: restriction of diet, space, sex relations, physical activity, and social and intellectual expression. Because of this reluctance and hostility, the missionaries soon turned to the soldiers for support. In response, the military began to send out expeditions in search of fugitives. Many prisoners were taken and brought back to the missions; some of them were criminals but others were gentiles innocent of wrongdoing. As time passed, the hostility between gentiles and whites increased, until toward the end of the Mission Period all professions of voluntary conversion were abandoned. The purpose for expeditions to the interior was forced conversion and military subjugation. This forced relocation and conversion created in many of the Indians an animosity to mission life which was expressed through apostasy, fugitivism, organized revolt, and abortion.

The Franciscan fathers and the Spanish in California did not set out to deliberately decimate the California Indian population. But neither did they try to understand the temperament of the Indian. They wished to convert the Indians both spiritually and culturally and, in so doing, they helped to destroy in entirety many aboriginal cultures, including that of the Chumash. The Spanish missionaries, soldiers, and civilians did not try to understand the Indian's temperament, nor did they realize that many would perhaps eventually choose death to life after being uprooted, enslaved, separated from their people, and deprived of their identity. It is known that diseases killed many thousands of Indians, but it is not known how many others willed themselves to die. How many Indians died because they no longer wished to live a life of captivity and suffering, both physical and mental? At the beginning of the Mission Period the Chumash population was probably between 8000 and 10,000. In 1832 it was reported that 2471 Chumash were living in the missions and working on neighboring ranchos (Cook, vol. 22, p. 40). It is impossible to determine how many Indians were unconverted and unknown to the mission fathers, but it is unlikely that 5500 to 7000 Chumash could still be alive and free by 1832 and yet not be mentioned in any records of that time. One must therefore conclude that the remaining 7000 or so Chumash had perished (primarily as a result of contacts with the Spanish within the last fifty years) or vanished by 1832.